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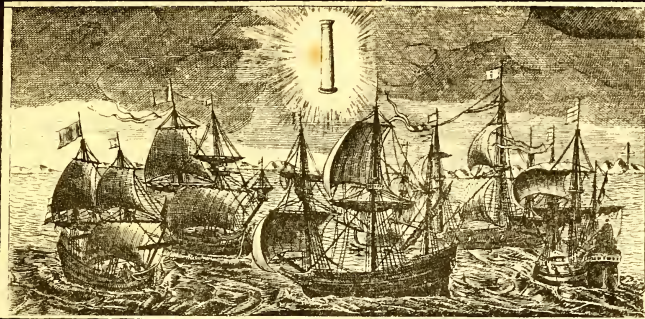
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HISTORICAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL NOTES

1453—1869 15307



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Mass. Conn. Maine, Vt. N. J. Penn. and Wiscon.
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A retrospect of four centuries, with a rapid glance at the progress of modern discovery, exploration, and invention, will probably serve as an appropriate introduction to our projected scheme of Inter-oceanic Communication by means of the TEHUANTEPEC RAILWAY, and show that the time is near at hand for its accomplishment. Let us, therefore, go back for a moment, and survey the little old world and its inhabitants as they appeared about the middle of the fifteenth century. According to Ptolemy, the best recognized authority, whose geography had stood the test of thirteen hundred years, the then known world was a strip of some seventy degrees wide, mostly north of the equator, with Cadiz on the west, and farthest India or Cathay on the east, lying between the frozen and the burning zones, both impassable by man. The inhabitants, as far as known in Europe, were Christians and Mohamedans, the one sect about half the age of the other. Christendom, the elder, that once held considerable portions of Asia and Africa, had been driven back inch by

inch, in spite of the Crusades, even from the Holy Land, the place of its birth, up into the northwest corner of Europe ; and both in lands and people was outnumbered six to one by the followers of Mahomet. For seven hundred years the fairest provinces of Spain acknowledged the sway of the Moors, and the Mediterranean, from Jaffa to the Gates of Hercules, was under their control. The crescent was constantly encroaching on the cross ; while Christendom, schismatic, dismayed, demoralized, and disheartened, seemed almost incapable of further resistance.

India beyond the Ganges, from the days of Moses, Alexander, and Aristotle, to say nothing of the geographers Pomponius Mela, Strabo, and Ptolemy, was deemed the land of promise, the abode of luxury, the source of wealth, and the home of the spices ; but the routes of commerce thither, via Venice and Genoa, by the Red Sea, Egypt, the Nile, Arabia, Asia Minor, the Black and Caspian Seas, through Persia and Tartary, were one by one being closed to Christians. The profits of the overland carrying trade were mostly in the hands of the Arabians, who inherited it from the Romans ; but Memphis, Thebes, and Cairo, that flourished by it, had declined as it fell off, and yielded to Alexandria nearer the sea. Finally, in 1453, Constantinople, the Christian city of Constantine, fell into the hands of the Turks, and with it the commerce of the Black Sea and the Bosphorus, the last of the old trading routes from the East to the West. Christendom for a time was disconsolate, and could only "pray for the conversion of the Turks." The whole of the carrying trade passed into the hands of middle men or agents, who passed goods without news, and In-

dia became more a land of mystery than ever ; but this apparent misfortune proved to be the beginning of a new and brighter era.

The learned Christians of Constantinople, with nothing but their heads and their books, fled in exile into Italy, and became its schoolmasters. At once began there the revival of learning, which soon extended throughout the West. "Westward the star of empire takes its way." The Medici family of Italy, at Venice and Florence, welcomed these learned Greeks, and bought their precious manuscripts of ancient lore. The gunpowder of Europe had already silenced the Greek fire of Asia. On the Rhine the young printing press was just giving forth the first sheets. The compass and the astrolabe, recent inventions, began now to give confidence to mariners and teach them that, though the old paths of trade overland were closed, they might venture on new ones over sea. In 1453, in Western Europe there was no tea, no coffee, no tobacco, no Indian corn, no potatoes ; and many of the necessities of our day were not even known as luxuries. Though the Crusades had failed in their immediate objects, they had exposed the secrets of the India trade, and the vast revenues of the Eastern cities. The manuscript travels of Marco Polo and Mandeville had found their way into the hands of thinking men. Venice was already waning, preparatory to yielding its trade to Portugal, the then most rising and active maritime power. Prince Henry the Navigator had still ten years to live to carry out his great schemes of discovery and exploration of the western coast of Africa. He was an ambitious student of geography, history, mathematics, astronomy, and navigation, and for almost forty years had stood alone. At the

early age of fifteen he had a successful brush with the Moors at Cēta, opposite Gibraltar ; and by 1418 had crept down the coast of Africa to Cape Nun, lat. $28^{\circ} 40'$, the southern boundary of Morocco. In 1434 his captains doubled Cape Boyador, and seven years after obtained from Pope Martin V a grant to the crown of Portugal of all he should discover from this cape to the Indies. In 1442 Rio del Oro was reached, and gold and negro slaves brought back. These were two real stimulants to Portuguese discovery, avarice, pride, and wealth, though the conversion of the infidels to Christianity, was, no doubt, a strong additional motive power. The reintroduction of negro slavery, and the part it soon played in commerce and the world's progress, may be ascribed to Prince Henry. He encouraged the traffic, which, with the love of gold and the hatred of the Moors, aroused his countrymen to his projects, and insured the promotion of discovery, in so much that by the time of the fall of Constantinople, his captains had reached Cape Verde, lat. $14^{\circ} 45' N$, probably a few degrees beyond, and had exploded the old theory of a boiling belt about the equator.

In all ages there had been a prevailing notion that one might sail round Africa ; but when once it was demonstrated that Portuguese sailors could cross the equator and survive, Prince Henry's vague idea of reaching the land of spices by this route was confirmed. At all events, he was schooling hardy sailors, and training them for bolder work, so that soon after the date of the fall of Constantinople, Italy and Portugal had reached that turn for adventure and enterprise, which spread like wildfire throughout the other States of Europe, and caused the entire revolution in the commerce of the world.

In 1453, Columbus was a lad of six years at Genoa, Vespucci of two years at Florence, and John Cabot a youth at Venice. The new learning at once took deep root. When these three Italian boys became men, behold how changed ! The sciences of mathematics, astronomy, and navigation had grown with their growth, and developed with marvelous rapidity. The press had spread broadcast the learning of the ancients. The secrets of the earth were inquired into and revealed. Many islands of the Atlantic had been discovered and described, and sailors knew the coasts of Europe and Africa from Iceland to Cape Verde. But, above all, the knowledge of the sphericity of our earth was no longer confined to philosophers. Alexander had told Aristotle what he knew of the East, and Aristotle had written down that there was but a small space of sea between Spain and the eastern coast of India. Strabo had said that nothing stood in the way of a westerly passage from Spain to India but the great breadth of the Atlantic Ocean ; but Seneca said this sea might be passed in a few days with favorable winds. Pomponius Mela and Macrobius put in like testimony, with certain difficulties about passing burning zones, and the earth being shaped like an egg floating in water. All these opinions were rehashed and digested by Ptolemy of Alexandria, in the second century, who first properly reduced the globe into 360 degrees of latitude and longitude. In latitude he was as correct as he was incorrect in his longitude. Roger Bacon, an Englishman, again summarized these theories in his *Opus Majus*, in the thirteenth century ; and in the fifteenth century Pierre d'Ailly, a Frenchman, reviewed the whole question, bringing together the opinions of the ancient writers named, as well as the fathers of

the church, including modern philosophers, travelers, and theologians, especially Roger Bacon, Marco Polo, and Gerson, and gave to the world his well-known *Imago Mundi*. This celebrated work, finished in 1410, was afterwards the guide, companion and friend of Columbus. The learned author was Provost of the ancient Ecclesiastical College of St Dié in Lorraine, away up in the Vosges Mountains, in the remotest corner of France. This was on the very spot where, nearly a century later, in the Gymnasium within the same precincts, a confraternity of some half dozen earnest students, lovers of geography, of whom the poet Mathias Ringman was the soul, in a little work called *Cosmographiæ Introductio*, printed there in May, 1507, suggested that the New World should be named AMERICA, after a man, inasmuch as Europe and Asia had been named after women. Thus a little mountain town of France first gave aid and comfort to Columbus and afterwards a name to the New World.

As early as 1474, Paul Toscanelli a learned physician of Florence, sent to Columbus the Chart of Marco Polo, and was in correspondence with him on these very subjects, showing that even then the plans of Columbus were maturing. In 1478, the great geographical work of Ptolmey, with the 27 beautiful copper plate maps, was printed at Rome, and about the same time many other of the ancient historians, poets, philosophers, mathematicians, and astronomers saw the light. The *Imago Mundi* was printed at Louvain, in 1483, and there still exists at Seville, Columbus' own copy, with many of his manuscript notes, discovered and described about forty years ago by our countryman, Washington Irving.

Meanwhile, the work of discovery and exploration was earnestly pursued by the Portu-

guese. In 1454 Prince Henry secured the services of Cadamosto, an intelligent Venetian, well acquainted with the trade of the East, and sent him down the coast of Africa, where he reduced the explorations and trade to order, and pushed southward the discoveries to Sierra Leone in 1463, the year of Henry's death, and the capture of Gibraltar by Spain from the Moors. Kings Alphonso and John continued these discoveries with so much energy that, after passing Congo, the bold captain, Bartholomew Diaz, reached the Cape of Good Hope, and looked beyond it, in 1487, thus completing an exploration of some six thousand miles of coast line in seventy years. Bartholomew Columbus was in this expediton.

Meanwhile King John had sent overland through Egypt, Pedro de Covilham, to India and Eastern Africa to gain information and report. In 1487 he reported that he had visited Ormuz, Goa, Calicut, &c., and had seen pepper and ginger, and heard of cloves and cinnamon. He visited the eastern coast of Africa, went down as far as Sofala, and returning northward, sent a message to King John that he had learned for certain that if Diaz should pursue his course round Africa he would reach India over the Eastern Ocean via Sofala. This theoretical discovery of Covilham exactly coincided with the practical one of Diaz.

All these events were but leading up to the grandest discovery the world ever knew, but it is difficult to trace the precise origin and the gradual development of the plans of Columbus. We know, however, that at the early age of fourteen he went to sea, educated with small knowledge of Latin and less Greek; and in 1474, at the age of twenty-seven, was in correspondence with Toscanelli, and became the father of Diego, the boy for whom, some ten years

later, he begged a night's lodging at the Convent of La Rabida. By the year 1487, when the mystery of a path to India around Africa was solved, he had not only completely worked out his great idea of sailing West to find the East ; but had offered his services in carrying it out, first to his native city, Genoa, without success, and had two years before brought it to Spain from Portugal where his proposals had been openly spurned and ridiculed, but treacherously though unsuccessfully tested. It is tolerably certain that much of his time had been spent in active and practical maritime service, for he had been down the coast of Africa as far as El Mina ; had resided at Porto Santo, one of the out-lying Portuguese islands of the Atlantic, the daughter of whose first governor had become his wife ; had visited England and Iceland, and was acquainted with the whole of the Mediterranean. His brother Bartholomew had been a chart-maker at Lisbon, and was his advocate at the court of Henry VII. We know from the writings of his son Ferdinand that he was both a practical and a learned mathematician as well as navigator. He had read probably all the compilations named above, and his own experience, together with what he had learned from the Portuguese, had enabled him, with his Marco Polo in his pocket, to sift all the vague and contradictory notions of the ancients as to the Antipodes and the shape of our earth, as well as to cypher out a theory of his own. For seven long years, after being worn out and disgusted elsewhere, he danced attendance on the Spanish court, with no fortune but his idea ; sometimes threadbare and barefooted, ever pressing his suit, never flagging in his confidence, questioned and ridiculed by commissions of geographers and scientific men, without ever

being able to penetrate the conservative ignorance of the learned and the courtly, or, as he complained, to convince any one man how it was possible to sail west and reach the East. But Time was working for him then, as it is now for Interoceanic Communication.

The fortieth year from the fall of Constantinople, the forty-fifth of the age of Columbus, witnessed the death of Lorenzo de Medici ; but other suns were rising. Copernicus, in the far north, was in his twentieth year ; Erasmus, his twenty-fifth ; Cortes, his seventh ; and Luther, his tenth. Martin Behaim, the old geographer of the Azores, aged sixty-two, was home on a visit to his native city of Nuremberg, from which the tide of commerce was ebbing. Here, in 1492, he made his famous globe of the whole world, as if to lay down upon it all the knowledge (and all the ignorance) of the geography of the earth, preparatory to the opening of new books. The same eventful year witnessed the expulsion of the Moors from Spain, the opening of the Mediterranean, and the discovery of America. Mohamedanism received its first check, and Christendom received a New World. These three Italian boys were men. When Columbus had balanced his egg for Spain, it was easy for Vespucci and the Cabets to do it for Portugal and England. Italy, whose noble sons did this in foreign service, never acquired a foot of the newly discovered lands for herself, yet how much of the honor was and still is hers.

In 1493, within three months from the return of Columbus, Alexander VI, a Spaniard, a Pope of not a year's standing, wishing to reward Ferdinand and Isabella for their struggles in expelling the Moors, divided our globe into two parts, by a line of demarcation passing from pole to

pole, one hundred leagues west of the Azores and Cape Verde islands, giving to Spain all she should discover within 180° to the west of it, leaving to Portugal all her African discoveries and the Indies for 180° east of it. But poor Portugal, that had been struggling seventy years in the dark in her circuitous route to India round Africa, jealous of the new short cut of Columbus, which had been offered to her and refused, protested against the position of this meridian. It was finally settled in the treaty of Tordesillas, of June, 1494, with the Pope's approval, that the line should stand at three hundred and seventy leagues west of the Azores. Had the King of Portugal's geographers and pilots advised him to contend for a line further east instead of further west, he would have received within his half the Moluccas and the other Spiceries. As some compensation for this geographical blunder, however, he secured a foothold in Brazil. Both nations were now running a race of discovery of India by divers routes. By India is here meant all the East beyond the Ganges, including China, Cathay, Japan, and the Spice Islands. The acquisitions of the Spanish were named the West Indies, while those of the Portuguese were called the East Indies.

Never was great discovery more modestly announced. "*A Letter of Christopher Columbus, to whom our age is much indebted, respecting the Islands of India beyond the Ganges lately discovered,*" dated February, 1493. Columbus thought his success complete. He aimed at Zipangu, or Japan, and, to his dying day in 1506, believed that he had found it nearly where his calculations had placed it, but never was man more mistaken, and never did mistake produce greater results. Believing our earth to be a globe, Columbus rea-

soned correctly that by sailing west he would come to the east of Marco Polo, but from want of knowledge of longitude, he, like everybody else, from Ptolemy down, was vastly deceived as to the size of the globe. From Cadiz to the Ganges the distance had been computed from the days of Alexander, but was always much overrated. From the Ganges to the Corea and Cathay, and thence to Zipangu fifteen hundred miles more, the distance was also exaggerated by Marco Polo. So that, still going east, the distance from Zipangu to Cadiz was calculated to be about equal to the space from Palos to Saint Domingo. Upon this error in longitude hung no doubt the problem of circumnavigating the globe, for had Columbus suspected the real distance to Japan by the west, he would never probably have ventured to penetrate the "sea of darkness," or have found sailors bold enough to accompany him. The actual distance from San Francisco to Hong Kong is nearly one-third more than Columbus had reckoned it from Spain to ~~Cuba~~ Japan - See Note on 40

The sensation produced throughout Europe by this discovery of a short and direct route to India was great, but for nearly twenty years nobody suspected the truth. The simple letter of Columbus in various editions, in prose and verse, was about all that was published for ten years, but the intelligence gave a new impulse to maritime discovery and commercial enterprise. Columbus, with full honors, returned in 1493, with a well equipped fleet to explore his Archipelago. He returned to Spain in June, 1496. Juan de la Cosa went with him in this second voyage. The Portuguese now redoubled their energies, and, in 1497, Vasco da Gama, just ten years after Diaz' discovery of the Cape, circumnavigated Africa

and reached Calcutta. The same year the Cabots, under a license of Henry VII, given in 1496, in trying for a short cut to Cathay by the northwest, discovered Newfoundland and other islands, and took possession, supposing them to be off China, and erected conjointly the flags of England and Venice, on the 24th of June, 1497. The next year Sebastian Cabot explored the coast from Labrador to ~~Virginia~~, that is, as he expressed it, to the latitude of Gibraltar and the longitude of Cuba. These discoveries were in 1498 reported to the kings of Spain by their vigilant ambassador in London, with the remark that he had seen Cabot's chart, and would send home a copy of it. What steps followed it is difficult now to trace, but the result appears to be that Henry VII, never following up the discoveries after 1498, Sebastian Cabot remained quietly at home till the death of Henry, when he took service under the king of Spain, permitting his English and Venetian rights of discovery and plantation to lapse. Thus ended the first English and Venetian attempts to reach Cathay by the northwest.

On the 30th of May, 1498, in his third voyage, Columbus first touched the continent of America in Venezuela, though some still contend that Vespucci had anticipated him by nearly one year. He called it Paria, and reasoned himself into the belief that it was Paradise, whence our first parents had been driven. In 1499, Vicente Yañez Pinzon and Alonzo de Ojeda, private traders, with the latter of whom was Vespucci on his second voyage, visited Brazil under Spanish flags; and in 1500 Brazil was discovered accidentally (?) by Cabral, in that great fleet which the success of Gama had called forth. He was blown out of his course on his way to India, and took possession for the Portuguese. Portugal thus gained un-

The South
Sea, 1498
at the time

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disputed possession of Eastern Brazil by rule of ignorance of longitude, claiming it as hers because it was east of the line of demarcation. All the science of Spain at that time could not disprove this, and therefore Pinzon abandoned it to the Portuguese. The same year, the Portuguese hearing of the voyage of the Cabots, and probably suspecting irreverence in the English for Papal bull lines of demarcation, sent Gaspar Corteal to follow in their track. Labrador was discovered, and laborers (slaves) brought back to Lisbon the 8th of October, 1501. A second voyage was made the next year by the same captain, but not returning with his ship, a third expedition was sent in search of him, under command of his brother. Of this last expedition nothing was ever heard, and thus ended the Portuguese attempts to reach Cathay by the northwest.

In 1501 New Granada, Darien, and Panama were taken possession of for the Spanish by Bastides, and in 1501-2 Vespucci explored the coast of Brazil for the Portuguese, down as far as 50° S. lat., within two or three degrees of the strait, and in 1502 there was published an account of his expedition under the title of *Mundus Novus*. The years 1502 to 1504 were occupied by Columbus in his fourth and last voyage, in which he was accompanied by his brother Bartholemew, and his son Ferdinando, who afterwards wrote a life of his father. He explored the coast of Veragua, still looking for the Ganges and inquiring for the home of the Grand Kalm. An account of this voyage, coming down to July 7, 1503, was printed at Venice in 1505.

In 1502 Valentim Fernandez, a German, attached to the household of the ex-queen of Portugal, edited and printed at Lisbon a collection of voyages in the Portuguese language, com-

prising Marco Polo, Nicolo Conti, Santo Stephano, &c., with a view of stirring up the people to a more lively interest in the commerce and navigation of the Indies. The success of Columbus and the Cabots is referred to, and the speedy return of Cortereal from the north, from his second voyage, is expected. This magnificent folio volume, the first important book (not biblical) printed in Portugal, must have had a powerful effect in drawing popular attention to the land of spices. It was the first collection of voyages printed in the vernacular tongue, and could be read by all the unlearned who had a penny to venture. It was translated into Spanish, and printed at Seville in 1503. No rarer books are now known to geographers. In May, 1507, the four voyages of Vespucci were published for the first time together, in Latin, at St Dié, in France, as stated above, as an appendage to a little work on cosmography, a science which now began to assume new and startling importance.

On the third of November, the same year, there was published in Italian, at Vicenza, a most important collection of voyages, under the title, *Countries newly discovered, and the New World of Albericus Vespucci*, containing accounts of the voyages of Cadamosto to Cape Verde, in 1454-5; of de Cintra to Senegal, in 1462; of Vasco da Gama, in 1497-1500; of Cabral, in 1500-1; of Columbus (three voyages); of Alonzo Negro and the Pinzons; of Vespucci (four voyages); of Cortereal, &c. This work was the next year, 1508, printed in Latin and German.

All these new geographical works hitherto printed, it will be perceived, pointed to the same thing, enlightenment of the public as to India beyond the Ganges, and how to go and trade thither. In 1508, for the first time in print, all

these discoveries were collected and laid down in a beautiful copper-plate map, by Johann Ruysch, a German, who had probably* visited the new found islands with the Cabots, and knew well what he was doing. It appears in the Ptolemy of 1508, published at Rome, accompanied by *A new description of the world, and the new Navigation of the Ocean from Lisbon to India, by Marcus Beneventanus*. A careful study of this map and its descriptive text, if we exclude all subsequent publications, and look at the world as seen by the geographers of that day, will greatly aid us in clearing up many apparent inconsistencies.

There were three distinct and independent fields of discovery. First, the Archipelago of Columbus in the center, filling a space of above a thousand miles from north to south, and open to India. This part of the map was no doubt laid down from Columbus' own letter, the only authority, in 1507, existing in print. He had, indeed, coasted along Paria from Trinidad westward, in June, 1498, as Pinzon, Ojeda, and others had done subsequently, supposing it to be another large island, or part of the mainland of Cathay, but nothing of this had then been printed. Second, the *Mundus Novus* of Vespucci,

* Beneventanus says "Joannes vero Ruysch Germanus Geographorum meo judicio peritissimus, ac in pingendo orbe diligentissimus ejus adminiculo in hac luebratiuncula usi sumus, dixit, se navigasse ab Albionis australi parte; et tandiu quo ad subparallelum ab subæquatore ad boream subgradum, 53, pervenit; et in eo parallelo navigasse ad ortus littora per angulum noctis atque plures insulas lustrasse, quarum inferius descriptionem assignabimus." *Anglicè*: But John Ruysch, of Germany, in my judgment a most exact geographer, and a most painstaking one in delineating the globe, to whose aid in this little work I am indebted, has told me that he sailed from the south of England, and penetrated as far as the 53d degree of north latitude [straits of Belle Isle(?)], and on that parallel he sailed toward the shores of the East [Asia(?)], bearing a little northward, and explored many islands, the description of which I have given below.

being the eastern coast of South America from Darien to Upper Patagonia, one vast Island with an unknown background. The authority for this was what has since been called Vespucci's "Third Letter," first printed at the end of 1502, or probably early in 1503. And third, the discoveries of the Cabots and the Cortereals in the north, represented by them as part of the mainland of Asia. This is only Marco Polo's chart of Cathay extended considerably to the northeast, and modified by the experience, probably, of Ruysch himself, and the information he gathered from the Bristol men, when he was with them in 1497-8.*

* The chart of Juan de la Cosa, representing the then known world, bearing the date of 1500, is not overlooked, but its significance, so far as the coast line of the United States is concerned, has been so manifestly distorted by almost every one who has described it, from its discovery by Humboldt in the library of Baron Walckenaer, nearly forty years ago, down to the present day, that the writer hesitates to venture his opinion. But by long study and comparison of this with other early maps, especially those of Ruysch and Peter Martyr of 1508 and 1511, he is convinced that the coast line, from the most westerly of the five English flag-staffs marking the extent of Cabot's discoveries southward and westward, to a point west of Cuba, precisely like the map of Ruysch seven or eight years later, is laid down as the eastern coast of Cathay, from the map of Marco Polo. If our Maine friends, therefore, will place behind their red line border, Marco Polo's name *Mangi*, they will see that this territory is farther "down East" than is generally supposed, being indeed Eastern Asia. The word Cuba, instead of *Juana* the name given by Columbus, and the fact that it is represented as an island, may be accounted for by a circumstance mentioned by Peter Martyr, that it was customary to add to recent maps the new discoveries as they were made.

La Cosa perished in Ojeda's mad expedition in Dec., 1509. He was a clever fellow, and a great favorite, and used to boast that he knew more of the geography of the new lands than did Columbus himself. Indeed, of all others, says Peter Martyr in 1514, his charts were the most esteemed. His knowledge and experience were great, for he had been, between the years 1493 and 1509, on no less than six exploring expeditions, either as pilot or commander, with Columbus, Ojeda, Vespucci, and Bastides, and had visited repeatedly the entire coast, from Paria to Uraba, and thence on his own account, north to the mid-

Columbus had placed his discoveries in the Indian Archipelago beyond the Ganges, and the world accepted the names he gave to the separate islands. No new general name was required. Cabot's discoveries being also East, were so re-

dle of Yucatan, as well as most of the islands in Columbus' vast Archipelago. When with Bastides, in 1501-2, he found that the Portuguese were meddling on the wrong side of the line of demarcation, endeavoring, probably, to find a shorter route to Calcutta via Darien, and therefore, on his return to Spain, La Cosa was sent to Lisbon to remonstrate against this encroachment. He was there imprisoned and was not released till August, 1504. Nothing daunted, the next year, 1505-6, he went on an exploring and trading expedition of his own to Uraba and Panama, and on another similar one in 1507-8. On the 11th of November, 1509, he embarked with Ojeda from Hispaniola, and perished soon after. From this it will be seen that he might be in Spain, chart-making, from June to October, 1500; from September, 1502, to 1504, autumn (except when in prison in Lisbon); and again parts of the years 1506-7, as well as parts of 1508-9. He had, therefore, ample time to touch up his great chart of the world, which he made and dated in 1500. The date is positive, and there is probably no reason to doubt it. But that he did retouch it subsequently is apparent from many circumstances. In the first place, there are manifestly two distinct letterings, in what may be called thin and thick letters, probably all by the same hand, but written at considerable intervals. All the thin letters *may* have been put on in 1500, but it is impossible to believe that all the thick letterings could have been received or known in time to be recorded in that year. There are many other points for discussion, but as the writer has never had under his eye the original chart, but judges only from M. Jomard's excellent colored facsimile on three double elephant folio sheets, he feels that he is treading on ticklish ground. The fac-similies (greatly reduced in size) given by Humboldt, Gillian, Lelewel, and other writers, are in many respects defective, and tend to mislead the student, inasmuch as the coloring, and the lines of latitude and longitude are left out. Some names are misplaced and others are misspelled, while many important ones are omitted altogether. Only the western sheet or third, is given (except by Humboldt). But it should not be forgotten that the chart is intended to represent, on a plain, the entire globe as far as known in 1500. There is a broad green border above and beyond the Ganges, showing that the northeast of Asia is *terra incognita*. But La Cosa had the same authorities up to the Polissacus river and bay, in latitude 52° north that Behaim had for his globe made in 1492. Hence the two works agree remarkably well, but La Cosa, taking advantage of the seven years progress in geography has attempted to complete Asia by

cognized as he placed them, and required no new general name, but his names of particular localities, such as Terra Nova and Baccalaos, were adopted. But as to the *New World* described by Vespucci, the case is different. This large coun-

laying down its northeastern coast on the other side of the globe, from somewhere about Zaiton in the Corea, to and some thirty degrees eastward, beyond the Polsiacus river and bay, through the kingdoms of Gog and Magog, and thence by a dream line connecting Asia with the discoveries of the Cabots and the Cortereals. The Polisan-chin river of Fra Mauro in 1457 is the Polisacus of Ruysch and the Ptolemies of 1511, 1513, 1535, and 1540. These and the Posacus of Schoner, the Puhisangu of Ortelius and Pulisangu in later maps are probably the Amoor river of our day. At all events, the river and bay are in eastern Asia, are about 50° to 52° north latitude, and therefore, America on La Cosa's chart cannot extend further west than the left flagstaff, the meridian of Porto Rico. The three rivers on the three reduced facsimiles are not in the original map of La Cosa, and, on one of them, the important words, *Mar descubierta por Yngleses*, are placed too low down and half an inch too far west, thus conveying the idea that the English had discovered Mangi.

In short, La Cosa's coast line, from Cuba to the first flagstaff, was intended for Asia, and to this day answers better for Asia than America. The student, therefore, who is not clear on these points is liable to get the Polisacus (sometimes spelled Plisacus) Bay, the Gulf of Maine, Rio Gomez, Cathay, Memphramagog, Gog and Magog, Quinsay, Cape Cod, Rhode Island, New York, Zaiton, Zipangu, Capes Race and Henlopen, Mangi, Carolina, Ciambu, Florida, Chicora, Cuba, etc., into a beautiful muddle. This is no exaggeration. This utter confusion has been made by compilers and amateur geographers from the times of Hylacomilus, Apianus, Schoner, Laurence Fries, Orintius Fine, and Muenster, to the present day, and no doubt will continue so until geographers look more carefully into the chronology and bibliography of their subjects. With these explanations this map is perfectly intelligible, and is reconcilable with other good maps made since the discovery of the Pacific in 1513, when America first began to stand alone in geography independent of Asia. The question next to be asked is, how far west and south did Sebastian Cabot go in 1497-8? According to Ruysch, as far probably as Cape Sable. The remark of Peter Martyr, in 1515 (after their eyes were opened to the size and shape of the globe by the discovery of the Pacific), about Cabot's reaching on the American coast the latitude of Gibraltar, and finding himself then on a meridian of longitude far enough west to leave Cuba on his left, is simply absurd, dilemmatize it as you will. Such a voyage would have landed him near Cincinnati.

try was undoubtedly new, and as his was the first description of it printed, his friends of the Vosges Mountains, lovers of geography, sought very properly, in 1507, to compliment him by giving it, instead, the beautiful name AMERICA. This was done without the knowledge of Vespucci, and was never intended to interfere with the just rights and claims of Columbus. The truth is, there was then no other book in print describing Brazil but Vespucci's very simple and interesting letter, written (but in what language it is doubtful) probably immediately after his return in September, 1502. He gave the country he described no name, but the translator into Latin, Jean Basin de Sandacourt, Canon of St Dié, entitled his little tract *Mundus Novus*. But time wore on, and the mistakes of the geographers, as well as those of Columbus and Vespucci, are made apparent.*

In 1505-6 Nicaragua, Honduras, and Yucatan were seen by De Solis and Pinzon, and in 1508 Juana (henceforth called Cuba) was circumnavigated by Ocampo, thus dispelling the doubt about its being Zipangu, or part of the main land of Asia. It was found to be a long, narrow island, extending east and west, and not north and

* A little book, hitherto unknown, written by Walter Lud, and printed at Strasburg in 1507, entitled *Speculi Orbis Declaratio*, discovered by the writer in 1862, has been the means of clearing up many unjust aspersions of historians against Vespucci, and explaining the true state of affairs. The book is now in the British Museum. The writer, after unsuccessful endeavors for two years to place it in America, at the end of March, 1864, had the great satisfaction of calling the attention of his friend, R. H. Major, Esq., to it, and pointing out to him the passages referring to the Vespucci books. How well Mr. Major has used these materials his excellent paper on the Manuscript Map of Leonardo da Vinci, printed in the *Archæologia*, and his admirable *Life of Prince Henry the Navigator*, abundantly show. The next year the writer called Monsieur Harris's attention to it, and in his *Bib. Am. Vct.* it appears, under No. 49.

south, like Zipangu. A strange confusion now began to seize the German geographers of Strasburg and Vienna. They made Cuba an island, and called it Isabella, and then transferred all the names from Isabella to a mainland, named usually, Terra de Cuba, connecting it with Paria (sometimes with and sometimes without a narrow strait), standing bolt upright, and extending to 45° north latitude, with a point like Florida, and a gulf to the west of it. This was still supposed to be part of Asia, but in reality existed only in the imaginations of the geographers, like Antilla and San Brandan. It holds on their maps about twenty names, some of which are found on Ruysch's large island or main land west of Spagnola, and all of which are found on early maps, especially on a Portuguese portolano described by Lelewel under date of 1501-4. It is in the Ptolemy of 1513, extending up to 45° , while on the globe of Schoner, of 1520, it reaches 51° , and is separated from Zipangu by five or six degrees of Balboa's newly discovered Pacific Ocean. Off to the northeast, in its proper latitude and longitude, most of these maps have Terra de Corte Real as a large island, extending probably as far as the Cabots and the Cortereals discovered—that is, as far west as the meridian of Porto Rico. Some maps have it Terra de Cuba, others Paria; and one, in the *Margarita Philosophica* of 1515, from a misreading of Columbus' first letter, Zoana Mela. This fancy continent grew in size for nearly a quarter of a century, and was hard to get rid of, but the explorations of Ayllon, Gomez, Verrazano, Cartier, and others, finally drove it from our geographies.

In 1512 Florida, up to Chicora, was explored by Ponce de Leon, but it is now certain that it had been discovered two or three years before,

probably by private adventurers, but perhaps by Ocampo in his return voyage in 1508. At all events, it appears correctly laid down in the excellent map of Peter Martyr printed at Seville April 11, 1511, under the designation, *Isla de Beimeni*. This map, exhibiting an unbroken coast line from Cape Santa Cruz, in Brazil, to Cape Catoche, in Yucatan, with hints of continental lines from Florida northward and westward, and one due north of Yucatan, if studied by the light of Peter Martyr's tenth book of his second decade, dated December, 1514, will foreshadow an approaching eclipse of Spanish enterprise.

There is little doubt that, at the time of the publication of this most important map, the author was still under the belief that all these new main lands somehow pertained to the continent of Asia. It is true, he informs us that some philosophers, and he leaves us to infer that he was one of them, had their suspicions that Columbus was mistaken in his opinion of its being Cathay, that the globe was larger than Columbus supposed, and that he had not really reached the antipodes, or the kingdom of the Grand Khan. But when Columbus, in his fourth voyage, brought home some poppinjays, and exhibited their brilliant plumage at court, the good old gossiping letter writer acknowledged that the great Discoverer was right, that such beautiful birds could come only from the East. Hence, probably, on this map the lines west of Beimeni and north of Yucatan are dream lines from Marco Polo. Indeed, Peter Martyr says, in his first decade, finished in 1510 and printed shortly after, that all these provinces of Paria, Cariena, Caneliet, Cuguibacoa, Uraba, Veragua, and others, are supposed to pertain to the continent of India. Flor-

ida and Beimini forgotten by Marco Polo, and left out of his report! Shade of Sebastian Cabot!

In 1511 Cuba was settled under favorable auspices, and with Diego Velasquez as governor over well to do colonists, it became the base of operations for extensive explorations. On the 8th of February, 1517, Francisco Hernandez de Cordova, accompanied by Bernal Diaz del Castillo, he of the *True History*, and Antonio Alaminos as pilot, who as a boy had sailed with Columbus, set out on an exploring expedition to the west, to look for trade, gold, and the long-sought passage to the land of promise. He went by Cape Catoche, the Bay of Campeche, as far as Champoton, and returned. The next year, 1518, on the 5th of April, Juan de Grijalva set out on the same route, with a better fleet and fuller instructions, accompanied by Bernal Diaz, Pedro de Alvarado, and the ever faithful Palinurus, Alaminos. They visited Cozumel, Cape Catoche, Campeche, Rio Tabasco, Potonchan, and named the country New Spain. They went as far as Panuco. Alvarado was sent back with the sick and heaps of gold, but Grijalva himself did not return to Cuba till the 15th of November. The journal of this important expedition, kept by the chaplain, Diep, was first published in Italian by Zorzi, at Venice in 1520, as an appendage to the *Itinerario* of Varthema.

Three days after Grijalva's return, Hernando Cortes, on the 18th of November, 1518, with the instructions in his pocket, which the governor sought in vain to recall after the return and favorable report of Alvarado, embarked on that most wonderful expedition of modern history, but he did not really leave Cuba for Cozumel till the 10th of February, 1519. He followed the courses of Cordova and Grijalva till he reached Vera

Cruz. From thence he ascended the Grand Plateau, and what followed is known to all the world. In his Second Relation, dated 30th October, 1520, Cortes sent to the Emperor a map of the entire Gulf of Mexico, well laid down, which was printed for the first time in 1524, at Augsburg, where Charles V had resided. On this map are the names of all the places at which he touched from Yucatan along the coast as far as Vera Cruz. These are, in order, Santo Anton, Roca Partida, Rio de Grijalva, Rio de la Palma, Rio de dos botas, Caribes, Santo Andres, Rio de Coeuqualquo, Roca partida, Rio de Vanderas, Rio de Alvarado, P. de Sant Juan, Seville, Almeria, and San Pedro. The Rio de Coeuqualquo was surveyed for many miles, probably with the hope of finding an opening to the South Sea.

In 1519, Francisco Garay, the Governor of Jamaica, dispatched Alonzo Alvarez de Pineda to explore the keys and coasts of Florida, but owing to the reefs and contrary winds, he directed his way round by the northwest coast by Mobile Bay, and the Mississippi river to Vera Cruz, thus completing a full and careful survey of the Gulf of Mexico. But still the disappointing report to the home government of Old Spain was—no thoroughfare. Here was the eclipse. Portugal had gained a strong foothold of eight hundred miles on the coast of Brazil in consequence of removing the Line westward. In this way Spain became hemmed in between two lines of demarcation, the one the breath of the Pope, the other the Cordilleras of the new hemisphere, the one about as impassible as the other, to the Spanish mind.

Thus all these three fields of discovery had by degrees crept into one vast continent, extending from the Arctic to the Antaretic Circles, and, in-

stead of being India, the land of fabulous treasures, it was an impassible barrier to the approach thither by the western route. In 1513, when Vespucci had been in his grave a year, and Columbus seven, Nunez de Balboa first saw the Pacific Ocean from the mountain tops of Panama, and soon after navigators began to realize that the land of spices was beyond another ocean, even more vast than the Atlantic itself. The beautiful name AMERICA now began to swallow up the conjunctives, to spread itself eventually all over the new hemisphere, by the same law that made the Libya of the Romans succumb to its younger and more beautifully named daughter, AFRICA.

But Spain, with her new Emperor, her Fonsacas, her Corteses, her Pizarros, her Almagros, her Don Quixotes, her affluent miseries, her newly awakened thirst for gold, her Christian zeal, and her jealous rivalry for possession of the Spiceries, was not the power to bend or break. She redoubled her energies, made laws for the regulation of her half of the world, and pious and unscrupulous as they were, systematized her efforts. She would not permit the Portuguese to seek a passage to their eastern possessions through her half by the way of the Isthmuses of America, and by the same rule she felt a delicacy in using their route by the Cape of Good Hope. Her ambassadors and agents in foreign countries manifested no such scruples.

In 1512 or earlier, Sebastian Cabot was seduced from England, and induced to take service, with his experience, in Spain; and the same year Juan de Solis, exploring the coast of South America, discovered Rio de la Plata. In 1515 he was again sent thither with a view of finding a passage to the South Sea, and thence to the

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Moluccas. This expedition returned soon after in consequence of the death of de Solis, but it led the way to a successful one in 1519, under Magellan, a disaffected Portuguese gentleman who had served his country for five years in the Indies under Albuquerque, and understood well the secrets of the Eastern trade. In 1517, conjointly with his geographical and astronomical friend, Ruy Faleiro, another unrequited Portuguese, he offered his services to the Spanish court. At the same time these two friends proposed not only to prove that the Moluccas were within the Spanish lines of demarcation, but to discover a passage thither different from that used by the Portuguese. Their schemes were listened to, adopted, and carried out. The Straits of Magellan were discovered, the broad Pacific was crossed, the Ladrones and the Philippines were inspected, the Moluccas were passed through, the Cape of Good Hope was doubled on the homeward voyage, and the globe was circumnavigated, all in less than three years, from 1519 to 1522. Magellan lost his life, and only one of his five ships returned to tell the marvellous story. The magnitude of the enterprise was equalled only by the magnitude of the results. The globe for the first time began to assume its true character and size in the minds of men, and the minds of men began soon to grasp and utilize the results of this circumnavigation for the enlargement of trade and commerce, and for the benefit of geography, astronomy, mathematics, and the other sciences. This wonderful story, is it not told in a thousand books? The Spanish eclipse was now passed, and America stood boldly out as an independent hemisphere.

Meanwhile, the Spanish were timidly tempting their new ocean. The Pacific shores of Darien, Panama, and Veragua were explored in

1515 to 1517, as they had been a few years before on the north side, with a view of finding a water communication from ocean to ocean. Estevan Gomez, another decoyed Portuguese pilot in the service of Spain, who went with Magellan in 1519 as far as the Straits and there discreditably deserted him, returning to Spain in 1520, reported that, though a strait had been found by the admiral, it was too remote and too dangerous for use. It was resolved, therefore, to seek for the supposed isthmian passage by a more thorough examination of the coasts of the Pacific. Accordingly, in 1522, four vessels having been built at Panama, d'Avila and the pilot Nino set out to explore the coast from the Bay of San Miguel to the Gulf of Fonseca, expecting to find at the latter place a passage by water through to the Gulf of Honduras.

The same year Cortes, after having subjected the mighty barbaric empire of Montezuma, extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific, with characteristic energy set himself to work exploring to find a natural water passage, or to make an artificial one. He ordered four ships to be built at Zacatula, two for direct trade to the Moluccas, and two to search for the strait. The voyage to the Moluccas was postponed, but the search for the strait was prosecuted so vigorously that, between the expeditions of d'Avila and his own, every inlet was explored between Colima, in latitude $18\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ North, and the Bay of San Miguel, a distance of above 2,500 miles of coast line, but of course, without finding any passage. The following year, 1523, Cortes dispatched five small vessels to reconnoitre the coasts from Florida northward, to seek for the passage connecting the two oceans. His plan was to send another fleet up the western coast,

that they might meet somewhere north of the German geographers' fancy continent, or sail round it. Of course they never met.

In 1524, Pizarro and Almagro, the future conquerors of Peru, began their approaches thither from Panama, carrying with them always the impossible instructions to seek out the hidden passage, while they were looking for trade and searching for gold.

The Portuguese in India and the Spiceries, as well as at home, now seeing the inevitable conflict approaching, were thoroughly aroused to the importance of maintaining their rights. They openly asserted them, and pronounced this trade with the Moluccas by the Spanish an encroachment on their prior discoveries and possession, as well as a violation of the Papal Compact of 1494, and prepared themselves energetically for defence and offence. On the other hand, the Spaniards as openly declared that Magellan's fleet carried the first Christians to the Moluccas, and by friendly intercourse with the kings of those islands, reduced them to Christian subjection and brought back letters and tribute to Cæsar. Hence these kings and their people came under the protection of Charles V. Besides this, Spain claimed that the Moluccas were within the Spanish half, and were therefore doubly theirs. Accordingly great preparations were made to dispatch a fleet of six new ships to the Moluccas, to establish and protect trade. The Council of the Indies advised the Emperor to maintain this fleet there, and to take the Spiceries into his own hands, and carry on commerce and navigation thither through his own exclusive channels, either by the strait recently discovered by Magellan, or by some hidden one which *must* soon be disclosed (if any reliance could be

placed in the geographers) in a more direct line through some one of the Isthmuses; or, failing that, by opening communication from the coast of the Pacific.

Matters thus waxing hot, King John of Portugal begged Charles V to delay dispatching his new fleet until the disputed points could be discussed and settled. Charles, who boasted that he had rather be right than rich, consented, and the ships were staid. These two Christian princes, who owned all the newly discovered and to be discovered parts of the whole world between them by deed of gift of the Pope, agreed to meet in Congress at Badajos by their representatives, to discuss and settle all matters in dispute about the division of their patrimony, and to define and stake out their lands and waters, both parties agreeing to abide by the decision of the Congress.

Accordingly, in the early spring of 1524, up went to this little border town four-and-twenty wise men, or thereabouts, chosen by each prince. They comprised the first judges, lawyers, mathematicians, astronomers, cosmographers, navigators and pilots of the land, among whose names were many honored now as then—such as Fernando Columbus, Sebastian Cabot, Estevan Gomez, Diego Ribero, etc. They were empowered to send for persons and papers, and did in reality have before them pilots, Papal bulls, treaties, royal grants and patents, log books, maps, charts, globes, itineraries, astronomical tables, the fathers of the church, ancient geographies and modern geographers, navigators with their compasses, quadrants, astrolabes, mathematical instruments, etc. (See the frontispiece, engraved by Jacob Colon, 1660). For two months they fenced, cyphered, debated, argued, pro-

tested, discussed, grumbled, quarrelled and almost fought, yet they could agree upon nothing.

Whereas in the treaty of 1494 the Portuguese claimed the right of placing the line farther west than 370 leagues from the Cape Verde Islands, while the Spaniards contended rather to carry it farther east than placed in the original bull, both parties now (so much does self-interest sometimes modify arguments of right) contended for the very opposite to their former arguments. The line, however, had been fixed and approved by the Pope in 1494, and therefore could not be altered by them. But as there were 150 miles between the most easterly and most westerly of the Cape Verde Islands, they discussed angrily as to which island the line should pass through, each party knowing that every mile the line was moved here to the east or west, it would necessarily have to be moved just so much at the antipodes, the real field in dispute.

The debates and proceedings of this Congress, as reported by Peter Martyr, Oviedo, and Gomara, are very amusing, but no regular joint decision could be reached, the Portuguese declining to subscribe to the verdict of the Spaniards, inasmuch as it deprived them of the Moluccas. So each party published and proclaimed its own decision, after the Congress broke up in confusion on the last day of May, 1524. It was, however, tacitly understood that the Moluccas fell to Spain, while Brazil, to the extent of two hundred leagues from Cape St. Augustine, fell to the Portuguese. The calculation of longitude was the *pons asinorum* of the Congress, the very problem that had deceived Columbus and other experienced navigators a quarter of a century before. At this time, let it be remembered, no geographer had given any hint of the fan-like shape of

North America, but all maps represent it as a narrow strip of land, like that from Panama to Tehuantepec, with the South Sea itself narrow running up to the west of it.

However, much good resulted from this first geographical Congress. The extent and breadth of the Pacific was appreciated, and the influence of the Congress was soon after seen in the greatly improved maps, globes, and charts. Many doubtful points in geography and navigation were cleared up on both sides of the globe, and the latitude and longitude of many places were defined. Indeed, on the new maps after this, all the discoveries actually made, up to 1524, were tolerably well laid down, but there was a deal of imposition left in the imaginary lines of those parts of the North American coast which had not yet been explored, that is, between Florida and Nova Scotia. These false lines were still used by the pilots of both Spain and Portugal, probably with a view of blinding the eyes of each other, or leading astray the outside barbarians of England, France, and Holland, who, though children of the Father, and given to trade and adventure, had no share in the Papal gratuity. The fact that all the coasts of South America, Panama, Nicaragua, Honduras, Yucatan, the Gulf of Mexico and Florida, as well as of the Pacific shores from the Gulf of San Miguel to Colima, that had been surveyed by the Spaniards up to this time, were well laid down, both as to latitude and longitude, proves almost to a certainty that the indefinite coast line of the United States was still imaginary, if not Asiatic. Indeed, the old wood-cut maps of 1513 and 1522 of the German geographers, with their ideal continent, Terra de Cuba, did service, without alteration in the Ptolemies, for a quarter of a century later.

The return of Magellan's ship *Victoria* in 1522 aroused the spirit of public and private enterprise throughout Spain. Innumerable schemes for developing commerce with the Orient, and making further explorations, were proposed and discussed. Every pilot, whether amateur or practical, had his card of the shortest route to the Indies. Of these schemes no less than six in 1523 and 1524 were adopted by the government, and promoted wholly or in part by public funds; viz., that of Cortes, of Loyasa, of Gomez, of Aillon, of Cabot, and of Saavedra. The impending conflict with Portugal called together the Congress of Badajos. That being over by the 1st of June, 1524, and resulting practically in favor of Spain, these several plans were matured as fast as practicable.

Cortes, the first and most active, had no sooner conquered Mexico and clenched his conquest than he began his exploration of the coasts of the Pacific. Without delay he sent Alvarado and other captains to the south and southeast, to bring into subjection the chiefs of the Province of Oaxaca and what is now called the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, and, shortly after, proceeded thither himself.

Ships were built on the Pacific side, but with many of the materials carted over from the Coatzacoalecos River. All the details of this scheme, from the 15th of May, 1522, to the 15th of October, 1524, are recorded in Cortes's Fourth Relation to the Emperor, printed at Toledo, October 20th, 1525. This Relation in Spain, with the reports of Alvarado and Godoy attached, gave still another impulse to the new speculations and enterprises, as it showed not only the practicability, but the probability of opening by artificial means a direct route to the Orient in a low lati-

tude and good climate. Cortes was clear-headed and far-sighted enough to see that lines of commerce must be straight lines, and that the curves of the capes in high latitudes are only temporary matters of necessity. Indeed, so sanguine was Cortes on these points, that he planted his personal hopes and private fortune on and near this isthmus, as likely to become the Old World's highway for Oriental commerce. All the lands and private estates selected for himself and his posterity, and confirmed to him in 1529 by the Emperor, were located here in the Valley of Oaxaca, and near Tehuantepec. He was ennobled in 1529, taking his title, Marquis del Valle, from his possessions chosen here. To this day they are called the Cortes Estates, or the Marquisanas. He and his kinsman, Saavedra, had vast schemes for opening communication, by means of a ship canal or Roman road, for the transportation of merchandise brought hither from the Moluccas and other parts of the East for passage or transshipment to Spain. How unexpectedly this rational scheme was thwarted will appear farther on.

At the end of 1524 or early in 1525, Estevan Gomez, the pilot, who had been in the east, had started with Magellan and deserted him, a delegate to the Congress of Badajos, was the first to get off from Spain. He had boasted that he could find a passage to Cathay and the Spice Islands by the north, as Magellan had done by the south. He must have seen at Badajos, if not before, the maps of Ruysch, with the continent west of Spagnola extending to 35° north, and the Hilacomylus map of 1513, carrying the same ideal continent up to lat. 46° , ending with Cape Mar del Oceano, just above Ruysch's Cape Helicon (probably named from the rumored fountains

of Florida). Peter Martyr's map of 1511, and Cortes' map of 1520, printed in March, 1524, together with the knowledge that Ponce de Leon, in 1512, and Aillon, in 1520, had explored the coast of Florida up to 33° , a little above Charleston; and it being known that Aillon had another commission in his pocket, dated June 12, 1523, to explore still further north of Florida; and his own commission being to find a strait between Florida and Bacalaos; these considerations make it probable that Gomez' field of search lay between 35° and 45° , or between Norfolk and Cape Sable, where, as Peter Martyr expresses it, "he found pleasant and profitable countries agreeable with our parallels." Very little is known about this unimportant expedition, and no authentic maps or papers have come down to us. The contemporary historians give no prominence to it, and very few facts about it. Indeed, from what is at present known, it is very difficult to tell whether he sailed up or down the coast, or both, or at what points he touched. So little information did he bring back, that it would not now be a matter worth discussing, if the results of the voyage had not been so enormously exaggerated by recent writers.

Let it be borne in mind that Gomez sailed with only a single caravel of fifty tons, with perhaps a dozen men, in the dead of winter, from Coruna, in lat. 43° , the government contribution towards the cost of the fit-out being only 750 ducats, returning in November, 1525, after an absence of about ten months, with some Indian slaves, whom he had kidnapped against a recent law of Spain and the positive instructions of the Emperor, and you have the whole story. Oviedo, writing in 1526, says that he sailed to the north-

ern parts and found a great part of land continue from that which is called Bacalaos, taking his course towards the west to 40° and 41° , from whence he brought certain Indians. Would an intelligent pilot sail north with such a craft in winter? Might not New England be the "great part" of land next to Bacalaos; and might not the fine tall natives of Rhode Island have been kidnapped, part being taken to Cuba for sale, the rest taken to Toledo, thus consuming the ten months, without having gone north of Cape Cod? Peter Martyr says, writing also in 1526: "He, neither finding the strait nor Cathay, which he promised, returned back within ten months from his departure. I always thought and presupposed this good man's imaginations were vain and frivolous." Herrera, who wrote three quarters of a century later, is hardly more favorable to this explorer.

The reader is referred, by recent writers, to the manuscript map of Ribero of 1529, now preserved at Weimar, for the result of Gomez' voyage. But the intelligent reader will see with half an eye that this is a partizan map, and intentionally deceptive in the coast line between $33^{\circ} 40'$ and 50° N. The discoveries of the English are thrown into Greenland, and called Labrador, while Bacalaos is given to the Portuguese, and cut off by the line of demarcation. All the rest of the coast is closed up under the names of Gomez and Aillon, and so given to Spain. There is no room left for the discoveries of Verazzano for the French in 1524. The Spaniards knew of his voyages, for they had been watching him, had caught him, and in 1527 hanged him as a corsair. Indeed, the best that can be reasonably said of the voyage of Gomez is, that it exploded the ideal continent of the German geographers, and, connecting the explorations of Aillon with New

England, showed that the coast of North America trended continually eastward, so as probably to connect it with the discoveries of the Cabots, and thus make the whole coast west of the Line Spanish.

Lucas Vasquez Aillon, a lawyer, a Senator in Hispaniola, and a man of position, immediately after the survey of the entire Gulf of Mexico under Grijalva and Cortes, went up the coast of Florida in 1520, as far as Chicora, exploring beyond the limit of Ponce de Leon, as far, probably, as Cape Fear, seeking for the passage to Cathay. He found a fine country, but to Asia no throughfare. The next year he returned to Spain, and was, according to Peter Martyr, in behalf of the Regency of Hispaniola "a long time suitor [to the Council of the Indies] to have leave to depart again into those countries, to build a colony there." At length, after the return of Magellan's ship *Victoria* with its glorious news, the Council granted his request, and articles of agreement were signed the 12th of June, 1523, giving him permission, at his own expense, to fit out as many vessels as he pleased for the purpose of planting his proposed colony, but the usual instructions were inserted in his grant, to explore all inlets and islands with a view of finding a passage to Cathay. This license, given by Navarrete, permitted him to explore as far as 800 leagues to the north from Hispaniola. He returned to Hispaniola, built there six fine vessels, and, after many delays, sailed with them and above 500 men and nearly 100 horses, in July, 1526. He went as far north as lat. $33^{\circ} 40'$, found no strait, and met with nothing but misfortunes. The 18th of October Aillon died, and soon after the few survivors, about 150 out of the 500, returned to Hispaniola, the expedition being a dead failure. Thus ended the attempt to plant a colony

near the mouth of Cape Fear River, and thus ended the Spanish attempt to penetrate to the East by the way of the North. Both Gomez and Aillon had found no gold, and no strait, and even the trees and the animals they reported were common in Europe; whereat old Martyr exclaims, "to the south! to the south! for the great and exceeding riches of the equinoctial; they that seek riches must not go unto the cold and frozen north." The whole story is comprehended in Martyr's sentence. North America, by the Spaniards, was never considered of any consequence of itself, and was regarded only as a barrier or a stepping stone to a richer, older and better land. It was necessary, however, to shut it up by a coast line west of the line of demarcation, so that other nations might be deterred from finding a northern passage to India.

The Emperor, considering the verdict of the Congress of Badajos in his favor, lost no time in dispatching his new fleet of six sail and 450 men by the Straits of Magellan, from Coruna, on the 24th of July, 1525, under the command of Loyasa, to the Moluccas and the Spice Islands, with the view, first, to succor the men left there by Magellan's fleet, and then to establish a government bureau and to protect its commerce. The Straits were passed, and four of the six ships reached the Moluccas; but the story of their long, long sufferings is too long to be told here.

In April, 1526, Sebastian Cabot, who had for years been the Pilot Major of Spain—said, however, to have been a better cosmographer than pilot—after long and ample preparations at Seville, sailed for the Moluccas via the Straits of Magellan, with four well-equipped ships, for the purpose of reinforcing and assisting the expedition of Loyasa. This expedition was another dead failure. For some unaccountable reason,

Cabot did not deem it prudent to try the Straits of Magellan, but attempted to find a passage through the Rio de la Plata. He penetrated far into the interior of Paraguay, explored many large rivers and fertile provinces, suffered many hardships, lost most of his men and ships, and finally, after four years of toil and disappointment, returned without any favorable results.

Cortes was kept informed of these several expeditions, with a request from the Emperor that he would cooperate with them at the Moluccas, by sending a fleet from the western coast of Mexico. Accordingly he caused three ships to be built on the Pacific, and dispatched them, with 110 men and thirty pieces of artillery, under command of his kinsman, Saavedra, from some port of Southern Mexico, probably Tehuantepec, Huatulco, or Acapulco, on the 31st of October, 1527. This fleet met that of Loyasa in the Moluccas, cooperated with it, found the Portuguese strong and resolute, by no means disposed to abandon the islands, fought them separately, and fought them together for months, nay, for years, never hearing a word from home, being cruelly neglected, yet loyal and true, till, reduced to a handful, some few of the survivors, long after Loyasa and Saavedra had died, as well as most of the sub-officers, found their way home after twelve years of unspeakable hardships. Thus all these six hopeful expeditions brought nothing but disappointment. The Straits of Magellan were found so dangerous and remote, that old Peter, had he lived, would no doubt have again exclaimed as before, "To the north! to the north! they that seek riches must not go to the dangerous and frozen south!"

As early as 1526 or 1527, before the extent of these failures was known, it became apparent,

if the commerce of the East was to flourish, it must be by some more direct communication. These great difficulties of the extreme North and South determined the Spaniards to explore the Isthmuses yet more thoroughly. All the five routes, from Darien to Tehuantepec, were spoken of then as now, with the view of constructing immediately a canal, road, or portage, deeming it safer and cheaper to tranship goods, than to carry them round by the Strait. "These are mountains it is true," exclaimed the old historian, "but Spanish hands, and Spanish enterprise can overcome them." But no Spanish hands could overcome the impolitic blunders of the Emperor. There is little doubt that inter-oceanic communication would have been opened in 1529 or 1530, by means of a ship canal or a turnpike across the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, had not the Emperor, who was greatly in want of money, defeated all the schemes, against the advice of the Council of the Indies, by pawning to the King of Portugal, who had just married his sister, the Moluccas for 350,000 ducats. So the trade of the Moluccas passing for a time out of the hands of the Spaniards, there was no immediate pressure for the completion of this great work. The opportunity then lost of securing an exclusive transit was never recovered by Spain, but it is reserved to us of to-day to make the ISTHMUS OF TEHUANTEPEC the world's highway.

H. S.

May 10, 1869.

ERRATA. Let him that is not without *errata* in his own life correct neatly with his pen, and pardon these of mine: Page 13, line 23, for Cuba, *read* Japan; Page 14, line 9, for Virginia, *read* the south; Page 24, line 27, for Diep, *read* Dies; Page 29, line 29, for theirs, *read* hers; Page 32, line 7, for was, *read* were; and also, any others that his quick eye may detect. The writer will reciprocate with opportunity.





